FREE SOCIETY

ENTERED AT SAN FRANCISCO POSTOFFICE AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER.

An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

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FOR THE MAN WHO FAILS.

The world is a snob, and the man who wins
Is the chap for its money's worth;
And the lust for success causes half of the sins
That are cursing this brave old earth.
For it's fine to go up, and the world's applause
Is sweet to the mortal ear;
But the man who fails in a noble cause
Is a hero that's no less dear.

'Tis true enough that the laurel crown
Twines but for the victor's brow;
But many a hero has lain him down
With naught but the cypress bough.
There are gallant men in the losing fight;
And as gallant deeds are done
As ever graced the captured height,
Or the battle grandly won.

We sit at Life's board with our nerves high strung,
And we play for the sake of fame;
And our odes are sung and our banners hung
For the man who wins the game.
But I have a song of another kind
Than breathes in these fame-wrought gales—
An ode to the noble heart and mind
Of the gallant man who fails!

The man who is strong to fight his fight,
And whose will no front can daunt,
If the truth be truth, and the right be right,
Is the man that the ages want.
Tho' he fail and die in grim defeat,
Yet he has not fled the strife,
And the house of earth will seem more sweet,
For the perfume of his life.

—Paul Laurence Dunbar.

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THE FIRST FRUITS OF PARLIAMENTARY SOCIALISM.

The Anarchist warning against mingling in the political arena has this year received its strongest confirmation. The International Socialist Congress, composed of the leading representatives of the Socialist movement throughout the world, has been guilty of an act of perfidy and betrayal almost without parallel in the history of the revolutionary movement. It has surrendered in the face of the enemy, and delivered up to the exultant bourgeoisie the men who trusted in the integrity of their leaders. It has turned its back on the social revolution, and now holds out its hand for bourgeois favors. It is proud of having attained "respectability," and the compliments of the London Times, at the expense of principle.

When Edward Bernstein, a conspicuous leader of the German Socialists, declared for bourgeois alliances, a storm of virtuous indignation burst from those who had hitherto worked with him. He had spoken out too plainly in meeting. Never would the cause of the proletariat be sacrificed to temporary ends! Among the loudest shouters was the well-known Socialist writer, Kautsky. The tempest raised by Bernstein's indiscreet avowal was to some extent allayed; and the "class-conscious" movement went on. Over seven million Socialist votes in the world! Surely such a nucleus as this could be turned to some account in the political arena. And in truth it has been, though not in precisely the manner which Marx or Engels would have contemplated or approved.

The European cabinet system is entirely different from anything in American political life. A French cabinet, for instance, is not a mere board of advisers, like the president's cabinet in this country. It is a collective body, with the power to initiate policies. Each member is pledged to stand by the ministry as a whole, to assist it in carrying out its aims, and to seek to win support to it. If the Chamber of Deputies defeats important ministerial measures, or declares a want of confidence, the ministry is compelled to resign; and a new ministry is formed by the victorious opposition. From this, it is evident, even to the most careless observer, that the Socialist who accepts a position in a bourgeois ministry thereby proclaims to the world that Socialism and bourgeois institutions are perfectly reconcilable; that there is a perfect community of interest between the proletarian and the bourgeoisie. He becomes bound to use all his influence to retain a bourgeois ministry in power, and to throw the Socialist over to its measures. This is in precise accordance with the original, as well as the current definition of the term "traitor."

The case of Millerand was peculiarly aggravated. Not only was the ministry distinctly bourgeois, representing a kind of reactionary radicalism something like Bryanism in this country, and fully as unworthy of support as the latter; but it displayed its utter contempt for the entire working class, by selecting as one of its members the notorious Galliflet, the infamous murderer of the Communards. It would be difficult to find in this country a fitting parallel to the situation. Powderly's monumental treason to the working class sinks into utter insignificance by comparison. If you imagine such a ministry in this country, in which Debs should accept a position by the side of Judge Gary, you may form some slight conception of Millerand's incredible perfidy. Yet this Socialist Deputy did not hesitate to swallow the dose. Flattered by the thought of power, and gulling his fellow-partisans with the promise of wonderful things to be accomplished for Socialism, he clasped the blood-stained hand of Galliffet, and took his seat as member and supporter of a bourgeois ministry.

Oh, he gained friends by it! Never was a Socialist so petted and flattered by the bourgeois press, from the London Times down. The enemies of the proletarian revolution could not find enough soft words to say of him, in contradistinction to the "impracticable" Socialists, who could not see the beauties of capitalist institutions. The reward of his treason was immediate and ample.

Still worse is to follow. It was this cabinet, in which the "proletarian" Millerand sat as a member, which sent out armed troops to suppress the strikes in Creusot and Martinque, by the brutal murder of workingmen. And this Socialist Deputy had not the manhood to utter a ringing protest, and if he could not prevent the action, at least to resign his seat, and thus escape the guilt of being an accomplice in it. But Millerand preferred the smiles of the bourgeoisie to the cause of the workers. A traitor already, he did not hesitate to become doubly a traitor now.

Last September, came the Anarchist Congress. There was no thought or fear of any outbreak of violence. The very publicity courted by the Anarchists is the best proof of this. None of their plans were kept secret. It was simply a congress for the discussion of principles and tactics, and for the strengthening of international fellowship. Nothing but the mere wantonness of aggression impelled the dastardly attempt to suppress this gathering of revolutionary propagandists. The laws of 1894, so infamous in their injustice as to be habitually known as the *lois scelerates*, (the criminal laws) so monstrous that up to this time they had remained absolutely dead letters, were revived and put into force by this "liberal" ministry, in which sat the Judas Socialist. Free speech and the right of peaceful assemblage became idle mockeries. The capitalist Pilate and the Socialist Herod joined hands to crucify the Anarchist World-Redeemer.

Of course, the plot failed. An Anarchist congress is not so easily suppressed. The only result was to place a third brand on the brow of the triple traitor, Millerand—traitor to the revolution, traitor to the workingman, traitor to liberty.

"But of course, the Socialists of the world seized the first opportunity to repudiate and denounce Millerand!" Of course, they did nothing of the kind. Had they done so, this article would have been unnecessary. Observe the sequel.

In December, 1899, an immense Congress of French Socialists was held in Paris. The Millerand matter was the principal theme discussed. Jaures, on behalf of Millerand, Guesdes and Lafargue against him, made a tremendous fight. The result was a decided majority for Millerandism. How the International Socialist Congress followed suit, will appear later. It is an edifying tale for those who continue to believe in a proletarian victory through the ballot.

JAMES F. MORTON, JR.

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IS THE WORLD BETTER?

Remembering the bloodthirstiness and cruelties of past ages, we are wont to think, "The world is better; we are no longer cruel even to our criminals, we build hospitals, homes, asylums; and we disapprove of war. We feed the starving; and we assist the victims of terrible accidents."

Surely we may hope the world is growing better; that in the hearts of humanity, glows a kindlier feeling for all that lives, than in the old, bloody days history tells us of. Otherwise we would die of despair, and strive no more to reach that higher existence where love and justice shall prevail. We recall the fate of those who would remain true to a conviction to the last, less than two centuries ago, and congratulate ourselves. They were burned at the stake, broken on the rack, buried alive, plunged into filthy dungeons, where life was prolonged that more agony might be endured. Cruelty was the rule; wars were ceaseless; and the poor needs must be thankful, if allowed to live at all.

And now? We have grown in intellect; we have studied, thought and invented; we know the world better, and realize our own natures very well; we have developed new desires and discovered new means of satisfying them. By experience and observation, most of us have learned that the consideration of other people's happiness is the surest way of securing our own. All these facts led some of us to think even several years ago, that wars had ceased; that men would never be subjected to torture by the State, or any established authority; that there would be no more martyrs because of a difference of opinion; and that from henceforth the thought that some could be made happy by the suffering of others would die away. Alas!

In the very dawn of a new century, we are in the midst of several ugly, cruel and unjust wars. In the far East, a whole nation of people are starving to death, not from nature's lack, but from man's over taxing and over robbing. The working people, the producers of the world's wealth, are, in every country, poor, degraded, anxious; for they are never sure of even a chance to toil; and no one knows what a day may bring forth. Kings and empresses are put away, because to the suffering ones there seems to be no other way. And then, established authority, in vengeance, gathers together all the remnants of cruelty its law can drag out of the dark past, and visits them upon the heads of the miserable executioners. Who can even imagine the horrors of Bresci's life, and perhaps Luccheni's? Into the supposed enlightenment and toleration of the present civilization, government has brought the diabolical instruments of medieval despotism, to inflict upon the betrayed wretches of nineteenth century greed. If we dwell upon the awful

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Anarchy.—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTES.

The work of Free Society is badly handicapped by the large number who are negligent in paying their subscriptions. We do not wish or intend to withdraw the paper from any who are absolutely too poor to pay. But the large majority of those in arrears are surely able to send fifty cents a year to the paper which stands for their principles, and is fighting their battles. In a few weeks, the names of those far in arrears will have to be dropped, unless they remit the sum due on their subscription, or let us know that poverty is the cause of their failure to do so. Please do not neglect to attend to this matter. Fifty cents is a small sum to the average individual; but the aggregate of all the subscriptions due would amount to much for Free Society, and for the propaganda which it represents.

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The pope prays God to save McKinley from imperialism, and at the same time, refuses to see any delegation from the Filipinos, who are striving to free themselves from the imperialistic yoke. His Holeyness is somewhat Janus-faced.

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CURRENT NEWS.

Talk about law and order! For months, the town of Mansfield, Ohio, has been in the hands of a gang of hoodlums, with the full connivance of the authorities. Men who venture to preach or even espouse an unpopular creed are handled with inhuman brutality, and driven out of town. The police and other officials side with the thugs, instead of offering protection to the victims. O yes, we have religious liberty in this country, except for Dowieites, Mormons, Seventh Day Adventists, and others who dare to believe a creed unsanctioned by the majority.

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The California Freethinkers seem to be a tame, safe less lot. Although nearly all governmentalists, and knowing that the church exemption amendment was pending, they scarcely raised a finger to stay its adoption. Of course, the churches were awake and vigorously active, in behalf of the sneak-thief act. In San Francisco, the German Freethought Society has over ten thousand dollars in its treasury. What is its excuse for existing, if not to fight religious proscription? Yet such was the indifference or indolence of its members, that not even one public protest meeting was held, and not a dollar spent in enlightening the voters. The amendment has probably carried, though it could easily have been defeated. This was not an Anarchist fight, since we are opposed to all compulsory taxation. But one would expect of honest believers in taxation some degree of consistent advocacy of an equitable apportionment of the burden. The Freethinkers of California have missed a great opportunity; aud consciousless parasitism has scored another victory.

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The petty tyranny everywhere prevalent in our "free" country was well illustrated in Camden, N. J., on election night. A woman wished to join the crowd, in order to see the election returns. Knowing the probability of insult from some of the "patriots," she put on her husband's clothes, that her sex might not be noticed. But as we cannot even wear what we please in this "land of liberty," she was arrested, and compelled to spend a night and a day in a prison cell.

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The British Empire is asked to help the American Empire by suppressing the Filipino junta at Hongkong. This will probably be done, although the United States, when at peace with Spain, would not suppress the Cuban junta in New York. But the shoe is on a different foot this time; and diplomacy knows no principles.

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The insincerity of Democratic pretensions is now becoming manifest. The dodging and twisting of the leaders of the party prove that its so-called principles were mere traps to catch voters. Hearst's papers turned tail the day after election. Nearly all the leaders of the party express themselves in favor of changing the entire program, because it has proved unpopular. It is an exact exemplification of the statement attributed to a certain candidate: "Gentlemen, these are my convictions; but if they do not suit you, they can be changed."

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The maladministration is happy. Not only has it been returned to power by an enormous majority; but it has won the hearty approval of the senile Lord Salisbury and the dotard pope. The Anglo American understanding has been openly bragged of in London by the British premier and the American ambassador. All up for imperialism!

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That conglomeration of fools and knaves known as Washington society is much exercised over the question whether Mrs. Nonentity Miles or Mrs. Vulgarity Dewey shall have first place of honor on social occasions. It is a loathsome spectacle for a "democratic" country; but we are becoming used to the denial of social equality. Plutocracy, murder, fashion, robbery, and social precedence, are birds of a feather, alike hateful to all lovers of decency.

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The virtuous Salisbury would "deprecate any unnecessary examination of what has occurred"; because it would "not add to the enthusiasm of the troops." What an excellent excuse for whitewashing a gang of scoundrels! This is the Anglo Saxon version of the "honor of the army," used in France as a pretext for not redressing the crime against Dreyfus. I suppose President Wheeler would cite this as a proof of the British "love of fair play," which he so profusely eulogizes. If this can satisfy the British people, they deserve all the outrages that Toryism can heap on them.

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DISCORDS.

And now it is Gertrude Atherton, who classes all Anarchists as criminals or lunatics, and demands imprisonment for life as a penalty for holding unpopular opinions. It is hard to fathom such monumental ignorance and inhuman intolerance, with reference to the Anarchist philosophy. The poor hysterical reactionist brands herself as beneath contempt. She could not refute a single Anarchist argument, but takes refuge in calumny and demands for suppression. Anarchy thrives under such assaults.

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Count Ademar de Castellane, a cousin of the cur who bought Anna Gould and her fortune with a title, declares that "the international marriage market has received a shock from which it will be slow to recover." His ground for complaint is the recent call-down administered by the Gould family to his spendthrift cousin. Says this pervert: "Frenchmen of standing will be slow in the future to marry American heiresses. What is the good of their being heiresses, if the whole family and a guardian to boot must be consulted, before one can touch one's wife's money?" It seems, therefore, that there is a temporary setback to one form, and that the most utterly loathsome, of prostitution. But a revival will surely follow. As long as vile degenerates, like Anna Gould and Consuelo Vanderbilt on the one hand, and Marlborough and Castellane on the other, continue to exist, they will transact their filthy commercial bargains under the guise of "sacred" marriage. And the marriage system makes this perfectly respectable, while the free expression of a warm and earnest love is construed as a vice! Could the perversity of conventional standards be carried much further?

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Professor Du Pont Syle, in a lecture before the Hopkins Art Institute of San Francisco, delivered himself concerning Ibsen as follows:

My first emotion on beholding this large audience, composed chiefly of women, is one of amusement; for I must suppose it is due to the interest of the subject, and that you have doubtless come to hear about Ibsen as the emancipator of woman from the vile shackles with which man has bound her for centuries. But Ibsen is your worst enemy, always portraying the unwomanly woman as his heroine, and alienating her from all that is best and highest.

He is ruthless destroyer of ideals; although one cannot help admiring his bravery. He draws his women amid the stern environment of his native land and conditions from which American women have been emancipated more than hundred years; and he causes his heroines to rise in passionate protest. His women are all Anarchists, because they have never studied sociology. His villains are always men of high ideals; for he holds that immorality consists in setting up ideals impossible of realization, and attempting to make others conform to them. This is the strange satire that pervades his plays.

As Ibsen is himself an Anarchist, although he has "studied sociology," and evidently to more purpose than Professor Syle, it is not surprising that he puts the breath of freedom into his women. They are "unwomanly," according to conventional standards, because they are the pioneers of a nobler womanhood, which rises superior to convention. A man who could read "The Pillars of Society," and yet class Ibsen as opposed to "all that is best and highest," does not surprise us by his other misrepresentations. It is not true that "American women have been emancipated for more than hundred years" from the conditions portrayed in "A Doll's House," "Ghosts," "The Lady from the Sea." There are thousands of Torvald Helmers right here among us. In details, Ibsen is Scandinavian; but in the larger facts of modern life, he is true to conditions as they exist throughout the civilized world. It is this which renders his keen criticism so valuable to those who aspire to better conditions and a larger life.

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President Wheeler, of the University of California, in addressing the British-American Union of San Francisco the other evening, declared that America was "a true part of the greater Britain." He declared, and did not intend it as a satire, that "the love of fair play" was the great Anglo Saxon characteristic. The Porto Ricans, Filipinos, and Boers, could make some very interesting comments on the nature of the "fair play" which they have experienced. President Wheeler as a jingo imperialist is a shining success.

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IS THE WORLD BETTER?

(Concluded from Page One.)

possibilities, we ean scarcely consent to be at peace again. And surely the shame of this terrible work will so eat into the hearts of a people trained in principles of kindness and humanity, or supposed to be, that a great clamor will go up against the powers which can visit such tortures upon any living thing in this day and age of the world! The hoary, iniquitous old authority, which takes it upon itself to treat a human being as they are doing, must be made to feel its shame and disgrace. And I believe it can be done.

For I yet believe in the humanity of the present day. The majority of the people prefer to see their fellowmen comfortable; if they seem untowardly selfish, it is because a bad and worn-out system makes them feel anxious about their own welfare; most of them in their normal condition dislike to see any one suffer, and would rather than not, if not at their expense, have others happy. The impulses of the present generation, the result of all that has gone before them, are generous. Why is it then that men can be found who will carry out the cruel work which is still ordered done?

How is it that in India, men can be found who will take the last bit of substance for taxes from women and children already starving and needing aid? Why are men existing, who will shoot down innocent people who are trying to defend their homes and live in peace? Why will men kill and outrage and burn and pillage in war, when at home they would hurt no one? Why will tolerably good men be willing to pull a rope which sends a man to his death, or a good doctor and a Christian minister be able to stand coldly and calmly by, and watch tbe death struggles of a victim? How is it that human beings can be found to apply the torture, to guard the poor prisoner in his dark, gloomy, living tomb, where he can *see* his suffering day after day?

It is a strange fact, but it is true: that individuals will commit, in the name of an old, long established, long recognized authority, crimes against their fellowbeings, which of their own free will, and on their own responsibility, they would not dream of committing; which they could not be induced to commit in any other way.

Established authority, whether of a political or a religious nature, gains in power by its own activity. Each exertion of power is but another "precedent"; and it is that much more sacred. When the people themselves have outgrown the institution, and are even ages beyond it, it is still so reverenced for what it has been, it so held in awe for its long wielded power, tbat no one questions when it commands. The "divine right of kings" naturally rises and clings around the thing which is obeyed for years; it can do no wrong, in the eyes of those who grow habituated to the power it exerts.

People are always better than their institutions. A

constitution, established at a certain stage of development, means perhaps, at the moment of its inception, the best prevailing thought of a nation. People progress; but institutions do not. Institutions become more revered, more powerful, more feared as time passes; but they never change in nature; they do not adapt themselves to the growing needs of society, but remain as inflexible and hard. An institution is all the more sacred for its hardness. It rides, a veritable Juggernaut, over all considerations; it takes on a mysterious, vague sort of sanctity, that no one questions. It may be the greatest criminal on earth; but few care to disobey or criticise it. It stands, a huge pile of iniquity reared by ages of custom, between the generous impulses of the heart, and the need of that generosity. It is in the way of the attainment of freedom and injustice, instead of being, as it is claimed, the safeguard of these principles.

The ordinary, normal individual would not commit many acts which they now do because of the State. Peaceable people who possessed the necessary opportunities of life in their own homes would not go half way round the globe to attack a people who simply ask to be allowed to live their own lives, drive them from their homes, burn, pillage and destroy, torture the citizens, outrage the women, and murder the children. A "State" and an old, established institution, the militia, makes this sort of work "heroic." There is nothing like the military institution, to drill and discipline all humane feelings out of the ordinary man. From a thinking, feeling, responsible being, military discipline changes the person into a murdering, stealing, marauding automaton. He obeys his "superior officer," respects the government whose slave he is, and throws off all responsibility on the intangible *it*.

It would be an unusual monster, who could deliberately lay hold on a fellow creature, shut him in a cell, and calculate and deliberate upon his death for months, and then calmly stand beside him and watch critically his last struggles; or himself strangle the breath out his body. He would be a distortion of a human being, who could shut up a fellow being in a dark, dirty, underground hole, where he could neither sit, stand or lie down: take him his pitiful allowance of miserable food; watch him day after day and year after year in all the suggestive stages of suffering, *and bear it!* But an intangible and awesome power having ordered it, men can be found, who feeling no responsibity for the agony themselves, will obey the mandates of the sacred Juggernaut.

The constable who drives out into the storm, a sick, starving, wretched family because the rent is not paid, may be a kindhearted man himself; but he has his living to make; and he is but carrying out "the law." He may pity; but then it is not himself, but "the State," that flings these miserable beings out from their only shelter.

The existence of this "law," "State," "government," makes possible hundreds of cruelties and injustices, which could not be, if private individuals in and of themselves were to act.

For, on the other hand, if the judges and officials who, in the name of the State, command certain acts, had to carry out their own orders, they would never be executed. It is easy to pronounce the words, "solitary confinement for life"; but if the judge had himself to watch day by day the suffering of the poor victim, he would soon weary of his work, and wish to take back his own words. The judge of any court learns to pronounce glibly the words, "Penitentiary for so many years," or "To be hung by the neck until you are dead;" but he would not himself go and carry out the sentence. The system of government which places all the responsibility upon some intangible, mysterious, sacred and powerful thing, which no one can ever find, makes all sorts of abominable deeds possible. One orders, and straightway goes to some other business and forgets it; another, taught all his life that to obey such commands is a virtue, hardens his heart, repudiates all responsibility, and conscientiously proceeds to inflict the torture. The "nation" calls for a body of strong, fresh, hopeful young men to go out and kill another body of strong, fresh, hopeful young men, to suffer, starve, get sick, to become corrupt and brutal, die perhaps; and nobody thinks a wrong is being committed. The young men go and kill, outrage, plunder and destroy as they are told: and no one is to blame, The soldiers are "heroes" to be admired and adored.

Governments are supposed to exist, in order to check criminality, to establish "order," to encourage "good citizenship." Instead, they are the greatest criminals on earth. No private individual would dare think of carrying out such diabolical measures, as are executed by "nations." Criminals are made by the hindrances, conditions and incentives which governments place in the way of natural, healthy development; but that is another subject, and requires special treatment. It is enough to prove now that governments prevent people from living out their best qualities, and expres ing their true inward wisdom.

So I still contend that the people are better than they were several hundred years ago. Instinctively they hate war; they shudder at the idea of torture inflicted on a fellow-being; they would of themselves kill no one, (with a few abnormal exceptions,) and they could not look on long drawn out suffering, no matter what the poor victim had done. Only this organized power, this created identity which can be traced to no definite source, this imaginary, vague but adamantine force, makes the terrible deed of "inhumanity to man" possible.

One lesson mankind must learn, before it will enter safely upon a realm of peace and justice. That is, not to build up out of their own inherent powers, institutions outside of themselves, which will grow with time stronger, uglier, more cruel, more unwieldy than they, their creators. They cannot be got out of the way readily; they grow into the customs, habits, reverence of society so deeply that only a terrible cataclasm can uproot them. Let nothing like an organized sentiment grow crystalized. Organize only for today's work; never bind the future to the needs of the present. Do not make the tools of the hour's emergency, the burden of the coming centuries. "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." No people, however wise, can build satisfactorily for the people to come. Freedom does not need fences to keep her in; she only wants the barriers away, that she may come.

Denver, Colo. LIZZIE M. HOLMES.

BRESCI'S REVOLT.

Do I "wish to see what manner of man it was, who killed the Italian monarch"? Yes, for from such men is liberty born, in their lion hearts rests her divine spirit, from their untiring efforts will she yet bathe the world in light. There are those who call Bresci's act the deed of a madman, of an assassin. Yet I doubt not that ages hence, some student poring over the history of our day, will name Bresci the sanest man in all Italy, because he of all men had the courage to revolt, to strike a blow in self-defence against the head representative of a horde of titled parasites who, in order to indulge in the basest self-gratification, have utterly beggared the common people; ten thousand of whom—according to statistics—go mad every year for lack of food.

Who stands most in need of an apology, Bresci or the common people of Italy, who submit like sheep to this outrageous state of affairs? No, Bresci's act was not the work of an assassin, but the deed of a *man*, an isolated act of revolt, a minature model of the great revolutions of the past and of those to come. Let us not forget that physical effort must back up mental revolt; that the needs of the hour call for the warrior heart and the philosophical mind. The men who demolished the Bastile used battering rams as well as thought; performed feats of self-destruction as recklessly as have our Italian brothers of the last three years. Multiply Bresci by ten thousand; and Italy is *free* to work out the problems of the future. Therefore, long live the spirit of Bresci, the spirit of intelligent revolt, that alone paves the way for progress and liberty. KATE AASTIN.

HISTORIC EVIDENCE.

Come now, college bred man and university graduate, let us examine this historic evidence which gives, according to Comrade Morton, Comrade Byington so much the better of me, who ask for proof.

There were many, many Gospels afloat at one time; and all of them were considered of equal validity, until the Council of Nice, in 325; and the history of that Council is enough to "shake the faith" of anyone in the validity of anything connected with it. The most eloquent orator, Athanasius, aided by certain pugilistic bishops, swayed Constantine, who presided, and overawed or thumped the other bishops into submission. At that Council, the "canon of scripture" was fixed; but many of the gospels they deemed genuine, Comrade Byington evidently deems spurious.

All of it is as authentic as the Arabian Nights, or the story of Robinson Crusoe; but how do we know that it is any more so? I see no more reason to reject the Gospel of the Infancy than to reject the other Gospels.

Paul was, evidently, an Essene, conversant with the prevailing religious beliefs of his time, and with the "inner meaning," or symbolism, which was never made known to the "common rabble." If so, then he knew that in preaching Christ Jesus, he was preaching a new version of the old semi-worship myth of the incarnation of the God Sol, or the birth of a new year.

The ignorance of the Jews concerning what transpired in Judea at the beginning of the Christian era, and their acceptance of the tradition of a mythical personage, is no proof of his historic character; nor is the Secularist claim that he was a bastard, the Spiritualist claim that he was a medium or the Theosophist claim that he was a mahatma, any proof of the historic character of such person.

Tacitus writes of Jesus Christ as a real character; but if his estimate of the moral character of Jesus is not to be relied on, then his estimate of the historic character, being drawn from the same sources, is equally unreliable. The fact that Tacitus was a foe to Christianity, does not make his opinion of any greater value as evidence in the matter.

As to Josephus, he says that Lot's wife still stands, a pillar of salt, "even unto this day." When I accept that statement as true, then I will give credence to his supposed statements about Jesus. There were many Jesuses in Judea, in those days, as there are in Mexico today; so even if Josephus does mention one Jesus, brother to James, it does not prove the historic character of the fabulous being worshipped by Christians as God Incarnate.

So far, all I have written has been negative; now to something positive.

We find in Potter's translation of the old passion play, known as Prometheus Bound, composed by Æschylus, the Greek poet, the following:

> "Lo, streaming from the fatal tree,
> His all atoning blood:
> Is this the infinite? 'Tis he—
> Prometheus and a God.
> Well might the sun in darkness hide,
> And veil his glories in,
> When God the great Prometheus died
> For man, the creature's sin."

This play was shown in Athens 500 years before the Christian era. Is Prometheus a historic character?

Everything goes to show that Jesus Christ, like Prometheus, Krishna, and many others, is only the personification of natural phenomena, as taught in Astral worship.

According to the ancient system of Astral worship, the God Sol, or directer of the movement of the sun, descended to earth through the medium of incarnation every 600 years. Virgo, of the Zodiac, was made mother of the solar deity; so we have a succession of virgin-born redeemers, one appearing every 600 years. For instance: Krishna 1200 B. C., Sakia Gotama 600 B. C., Christ 600 years later. All of them but mythical representations of the movement of the earth in relation to the sun and planets, as understood by the Astrologers, but taught by the priests to the ignorant multitude as actual historic facts.

Another strong evidence that the "historic Christ" is only a symbol of the changes of the seasons, is the remarkable resemblance of the forms, ceremonies, festivals, fast times and feast times of the Christian religion to the like in all systems of religion in all countries north of the equator, prior to the rise of Christianity.

Much more might be said on this; but enough for this time. HENRY ADDIS.

THE MARTYRS REMEMBERED.

A large and enthusiastic audience filed Turk Street Temple, San Francisco, to overflowing, on the evening of November 11. Socialists and Anarchists, with other friends of labor, united to pay tribute to the memory of the Chicago martyrs. Good music by the Socialist band and choruses filled the intervals between the speeches. The addresses, by Emil Liess in German, and James F. Morton, Jr., in English, were warmly received.

A CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

The friends of co-operation on the Rochdale plan have opened a store in San Francisco, at 1818 Market St., for the sale of groceries. The store is well stocked; and the capital behind the undertaking is sufficient to afford every promise of permanence and success. All believers in practical co-operation are invited to aid with their patronage. Those who desire to inquire into the Rochdale plan can obtain full information at the above address.

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GENERAL OUTLINE FOR A COURSE OF ANARCHISTIC STUDY.

BY C. L. JAMES.

SUBJECTS OF LESSONS.

1. Origins of Political, Economic, and Religious Authority.
2. Softening of Authority by Culture.
3. Civil Government the Stay of Remaining Authority and Barbarism.
4. Freedom Stimulates; Authority Depresses Civilization.
5. Government not needed for Protection against Violence.
6. Belief in Government Essentially Superstitious.
7. Science the Remedy for Superstition.
8. Progress in the Right Direction.
9. The Anarchist Movement in History.
10. Anarchism not Dependent on Any Metaphysical System.
11. A Peril to Anarchism, The Movement in Favor of Ignorance.
12. Anarchism and Personal Conduct.

LESSON IX.

THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN HISTORY.

The Subject in General: C. L. James, *Anarchy's Apostles*, in *Twentieth Century;* Encyclopedia Britannica, articles *Socialism* and *Political Economy*.

English Anarchism, Its Inception.—Macaulay, *Mackintosh* (last portion), *Lord Chatham* (beginning).

English Anarchistic Literature.—Burke, *Vindication of Natural Society*, "Junius" *Letters* (note the many plain expressions of Anarchist doctrine); Godwin, *Political Justice;* Shelley, *Queen Mab, Masque of Anarchy, Revolt of Islam, various passages in other poems* and *Notes*, (being before Proudhon he uses the word "Anarchy" in a bad sense); Byron, *various passages*, especially in *Don Juan;* Herbert Spencer, *Social Statics;* Wm. Morris, *The Tables Turned, or Nupkins Awakened*.

American Anarchistic Literature.—Paine, *The Crisis, Rights of Man;* Jefferson, cit.; Wm. Lloyd Garrison, *Biography of, Vol. I, pp. 124, 265, 307, 503, Vol. II, p. 51 seq., pp. 94, 108, 201, 206*, etc., (see *Index);* Josiah Warren, *Equitable Commerce*.

The Spiritualistic and Free Love School.—Julia Branch, *Speech of*, (frequently republished); M. Harman et al., *Lucifer and its publications;* Greene, *The Blazing Star;* Denton, *Be Thyself*.

Similar Social Doctrines Without Any Supernatural Tendency.—Ruedebusch, *The Old and the New Ideal;* C. L. James, *Law of Marriage*.

Transcendental and Metaphysical School.—Thoreau, *Letters, Biography;* Emerson, *Essays, Representative Men;* Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*.

Early French Anarchism.—Rousseau, *Emile, Origin of Inequality;* Condorcet, *L'Esprit Humain*.

Influence of Hegel and St. Simon upon.—Encyclopedia Britannica, articles *Hegel, St. Simon, Socialism*.

The Great Anarchistic Movement.—Proudhon, *What is Property?, Economic Contradictions*, and *other works;* B. R. Tucker, *Liberty, files of, Instead of a Book;* Marx, *Capital, Misery of Philosophy*, (criticism of Proudhon); Bakunin, *God and the State, Groundwork of Social Revolution*.

Russian Anarchism.—Chernychevsky, *What Is To Be Done?;* Bakunin, cit.; Stepniak, *Underground Russia;* Tolstoi, *My Confession*, and *other theoretical works;* Kropotkin, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*.

Revolutionary Anarchism.—Kropotkin, cit.; Bakunin, *Groundwork of Social Revolution;* Most, collected papers on *Modern Scientific Warfare; Alarm, files of;* Parsons, *Life of;* Chicago Martyrs, *Memorial Speeches of;* Trumbull, *Trial of the Judgment;* Lum, *Why I am a Revolutionist*, in *Twentieth Century;* Ames, *Why that Minor Strain;* Gary, *Crime and Trial of the Anarchists*, in *Century Magazine, 1893*, (best the other side can say, and bad enough to be worth circulating); Propaganda Publications, *List in Free Society*.

CHORDS.

The New York Central Labor Union has received letters from over one hundred representatives of labor organizations in Porto Rico, stating that they are imprisoned in San Juan by military authority, the chiefs of the American army suppressing all labor organizations which they can discover. These victims of McKinley's despotism include the presidents and secretaries and members of arbitration committees of nearly every labor union on the island.

Thus the administration antagonizes labor wherever it can, from the frozen Coeur d'Alene to the tropics, by palpably unconstitutional means. Russia excels it only in barbarity, but not in despotism.—Justice.

Anybody can be a millionaire. All you have got to do is to form a company and buy up some natural product that everybody must have, and put the price up so as to raise the necessary amount; or form a trust, and get in all the manufacturers of some product; or you might buy up some of the railroads, or start a bank. All these ways are open to ambitious young men.—Freemen's Labor Journal.

An Episcopal clergyman of Boston makes the declaration that "the Church can have no specific solution of the labor problem." We agree with him, and further affirm that the modern Church has no specific nor even general solution of any other problem before the world!—The Flaming Sword.

Thanksgiving comes most appropriately a short time after election. Everybody will be thankful when it is over.—Farm and Factory.

Vicar's Wife—Well, Mrs. Rogers, I am glad to hear your husband has given up drinking. I hope he is all the better for it?

Mrs. Rogers—Oh, yes'm, that he be. Why, ever since he took the pledge, he's been more like a friend than a husband.—San Francisco Star.

A lady residing in North Columbus, meeting a girl the other day who had lately been in her service, inquired: "Well, Mary, where do you live now?" "Please, ma'am, I don't live nowhere," rejoined the girl, "I am married."—Ex.

A Cape mounted policeman relates that when a Boer prisoner expressed himself to a British soldier as confident that the Boers would win in the end, because the Lord was on their side, Tommy said: "Garn! You've got no show! Ain't we got fifty bloomin' lords on our side?"—London Freethinker.

Why should not the exploiters of labor look with contempt on the workingmen who allow the exploitation?—Workers' Call.

There is Anarchy in New York State. All of the public officials are out on the stump; and the people are without "governors." Wouldn't it be a terrible calamity, if such a state of affairs were to continue permanently? All the people would rob and murder each other, sure.—Farm and Factory.

Divorce Lawyer—You say you want to sue your husband for divorce on the ground of infidelity?

Woman—Yais, sah, De misabul Infidel say he doan' believe de whale evah swallered Jonah, or de animals went into de ark, or nuffin.—Judge.

Mrs. Hix—I'm glad to hear that your husband is working again.

Mrs. Dix—But he isn't working; he has a political job.

His New Life.—"Madame," said the tramp, "I was oncet a member of the legislature." "And are you sure," she asked, inclined to believe him, "that your reformation is complete?"—Philadelphia American.

The Letter-Box.

O. B., Barre, Vt.—The laws you refer to are different in every State. There is probably a commissioner of corporations in Vermont. If you address him at the State capital, you will probably get a copy of the corporation laws of Vermont; and by a similar request to the like officer in any other State, you can obtain the laws of that State.

L. R., Atlantic City, N. J.—The ideas are good; but what you send is not poetry. Try it in prose.

L. H., Milwaukee, Wis.—There would be little progress, if false tactics were not to be criticized, and treacherous leaders exposed. The edict against the Anarchist Congress was promulgated by the ministry as a body, not by one minister alone; and neither Millerand nor the Paris Socialists uttered any objection or protest. We should have little self respect, if we suffered such conduct to pass without rebuke.

E. M., New York City.—Send reports in your own language. Please write clearly; and I shall be able to translate them. Anything sent in French, German, Italian, or Russian, can be understood by some one of us here, and turned into English.

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